1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a 127 short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting 128 material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and talo gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 415.

Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Pukapukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal informants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawani, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

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As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka generously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, presumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka. In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are served by native pastors.

1. [Pukapuka—analyst]

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served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Missionary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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124/127 plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

121/128 This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as a functional entity. [184] Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalisations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *puna*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yikuanga e nono i te nguturwale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *maslenga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*lulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatane, makamoniue*), a young man or
613 woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers
884 and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join
[578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.
132 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept
626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.
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MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *wua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-
616 lineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to
613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means
616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal
124 social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Member-
773 ship is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *wua* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[124] 613 723 616 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the uso:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka lelei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau loa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kuwe, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a laua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Koa nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te uila mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awungia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wona,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo: mai te kilictawaki, te ataoluca, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lauumui, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a laua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a laua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te pelopeloteriga,—te wui manu e welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuenga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Pela oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tana tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wui ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga *Momoto* were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the *sandpiper*, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rutettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kilictawaki*, the *ataoluca*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lauumui*, the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *wua* was given, the *wua* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

[635]

* The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and nine consonants, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *t*, *v*, and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6).* The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 49.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat

152 taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Liaki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liaki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liaki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific mental taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parenthesis after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

BY ERNEST AND PEARL BEAGLEHOLE,
Wellington, New Zealand.

114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[121]

[1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.